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and social ideals of the British people were transformed; the British Empire as a unified force came to be. However, the work of strengthening the imperial consciousness, of enlarging national into imperial patriotism must go on, if the world-wide empire under the British flag is to be a permanent and unified force among the powers of the world. This broad fact is made patent by the author's clear survey of the forces that in the past have shaped the development of English patriotism.

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WORSFOLD, W. BASIL. *Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner.* Pp. x, 805. Price, \$7.50. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Ltd., 1913.

MILNER, VISCOUNT. *The Nation and the Empire.* Pp. xlvii, 515. Price, \$3.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1913.

In an earlier volume Mr. Worsfold presented an account of the work of Lord Milner in South Africa from the time of his appointment as commissioner in 1897 to the peace of Vereeniging, 1902. This account is continued so as to cover the entire history of Lord Milner's public life as commissioner for the New Colonies in their reconstruction after the war. From the complete collection of official papers, from a personal diary and from newspaper reports both imperial and South African, the author records carefully and in great detail the activities of the high commissioner. Throughout the story there is an intense loyalty and an admiration for Lord Milner that give the volumes the character of memoirs prepared by a devoted private secretary rather than an effort to present an impartial view of South African affairs under the Crown Colony régime. Every effort is made to present the commissioner in the best light. All of his leading policies are vigorously defended and the reader is led to believe that Milner invariably chose the right course and did the things which would redound to the honor and glory of the British Empire and at the same time promote the best interests of South Africa. In the face of economic disaster and political opposition, both of which were not merely unprecedented in degree but unexpected in character we are assured that all affairs "were met and handled with conspicuous success."

It is comparatively easy to find statements and conclusions to which exception may be taken in a work written with such an obvious bias. Considering the plans and execution of the scheme of repatriation adopted immediately upon the close of the war, attention is called to the general efficiency of the repatriation department, which within a period of little more than eight months had restored the entire Boer population to their homes. Although an official examination made by the home office revealed the following defects: bad accounting, uneconomic buying of supplies, excessive supplies of stores and criticisms of particular transactions, nevertheless the high commissioner is entirely exonerated and the defects are attributed to the "exceptional circumstances." When Lord Milner was negotiating with the Portuguese authorities relative to the Delagoa-Johannesburg railway and was aiming "to bind the province of Mozambique by economic ties to British South Africa so com-

pletely that the control of its industrial development would lie in British hands" the author seems surprised that it was so difficult to remove the suspicion of sinister designs on the part of the British government, and appears unable to understand why the Portuguese government "assumed so hesitating and suspicious an attitude" as to result in the prospect being temporarily abandoned. Here as in similar instances the author like other imperialists appears not very particular about the method by which the rule of the empire is to be extended and fails to understand why other nations and their colonial possessions do not welcome British rule.

Making due allowance for the fact that all the evidence is marshalled in such a way as to be favorable to Lord Milner and his colonial policies the volumes may be read with much interest and profit. The author discusses Lord Milner's part in the work of repatriation, his policy for the reorganization of railway administration and the readjustment of railway rates, the relation between Transvaal and Delagoa Bay and finally the reasons for the adoption of the policy which was distinctly Milner's—the importation of Chinese labor. In each of these matters Lord Milner took a deep personal interest and through his ability to do a prodigious amount of labor actually directed personally much of the public work of the colonies. Many exceedingly difficult problems and some very delicate situations, particularly in winning back the Boers, were evidently handled with unusual tact and with discerning judgment. The two dominant ideas of Milner were the advancement of imperial interests and the preparation of the way for the administrative unity of South Africa. The high commissioner gave much attention to his so-called "fads"—land settlement, the bringing of British settlers to South Africa, afforestation, scientific study of agriculture and irrigation, and lastly the inter-colonial council. It was through the latter body that new South Africa was to be "cast deliberately in a mould from which it could take on readily the form of union." The story of Crown Colony government as directed by Milner is told in such a thorough manner that no student of colonial affairs can afford to neglect these volumes.

*The Nation and the Empire* by Viscount Milner contains a collection of speeches and addresses delivered at the time of his appointment as commissioner, during his stay in South Africa and on his return to England in defense of his policies and in the advancement of the one great idea—imperial federation. The meaning and significance of the term "imperial" are unfolded in an interesting introduction wherein it is possible to amplify the dominant note of the speeches. At the Navy League meeting in Johannesburg on May 29, 1904, Lord Milner defined his notion of imperialism as follows: "I am an imperialist out and out, and by imperialist I do not mean that which is commonly supposed to be indicated by the word. It is not the domination of Great Britain over other parts of the empire that is in my mind at all, when I call myself an imperialist out and out. I am an Englishman, but I am an imperialist more than I am an Englishman, and I am prepared to see the Federal Council of the empire sitting at Ottawa, sitting at Sydney, sitting in South Africa, sitting anywhere, so long as in the future we all hang together." A large part of Milner's public utterances are intended to forward imperial federation as an ideal

greater and more worthy of support than the evanescent principles of the regular parties.

This volume presents in full many addresses from which Mr. Worsfold quotes extracts. The Graaff Reinet speech which was described by the Liberals as an act of monumental folly, destined to bring the two nations at war, and many other utterances over which controversies raged in England and South Africa, are here given in full. Moreover the fate of Lord Milner's policies in the hands of the liberal ministry after the downfall of the Unionist majority is described and the defense of his South African career before the House of Lords and other public bodies is portrayed in speeches after the Liberal party had set about to undo much that was accomplished under Crown Colony government.

The time has not come to estimate the work of Lord Milner with complete fairness to all parties concerned. Many more years must pass before his attitude toward and treatment of the Boers can be impartially considered. Nor is it possible as yet to weigh with the even hand of justice the difference between the Unionist policies as formulated and carried out by Chamberlain and Milner and the Liberal opposition which called forth a condemnation of Milner's policies from no less men than Henry Campbell-Bannerman, John Morley and James Bryce, and led to a reversal of the most noteworthy decisions made by the governor. When the time comes to consider the career of Milner from the impartial viewpoint of history it will be a great advantage to have these important public utterances as well as the painstaking record furnished by an enthusiastic admirer. The volumes constitute a notable addition to the literature on the history of South Africa.

As the idea of imperial federation develops the nation will in all probability find more cause for gratification in the work of their high commissioner at the critical period in South African affairs, and they may accord even greater honor to the man who sees in the organic union of the dominions and the mother country "one of the noblest conceptions that has ever dawned upon the political imagination of mankind."

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